New South

- **Responsible Persons**
- **Integration and Public Morals**
  Marion A. Wright
- **Unquote**

New South

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New South Notes

"Responsible persons should not be silent." This long has been the thesis of *New South* and *New South* contributors. Now a group of Atlanta ministers have combined efforts to release a statement concerning their convictions. The first principle for use in race relations suggested by the ministers is "Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved." The ministers are emphatic in their belief that responsible community leaders should not be silent concerning their conviction.

The ministers add five additional principles that they believe to be of "basic importance for our thought and conduct" in relations in the South today. The statement, reprinted in these pages, is well worth reading and distributing among the "responsible" persons in the South today.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, retiring president of the Southern Regional Council, recently talked to a group of persons in Charlotte, North Carolina, concerning "Integration and Public Morals." In the speech, Mr. Wright also set forth principles that should govern actions of Southern persons in this time of crisis.

Mr. Wright discusses these principles in the light of the recent events in Little Rock, Arkansas; Nashville, Tennessee; and Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and Greensboro, North Carolina. With particular emphasis on recent desegregation action in Charlotte, Mr. Wright discusses the role of a given community and what it may mean for the future of the community.

We think both the Atlanta ministers and Mr. Wright are on sound ground with their listing and discussion of principles and public morals.

Responsible Persons Should Not Be Silent

Statement
By
Atlanta Ministers

These are days of tremendous political and social tensions throughout our entire world, but particularly in our nation and beloved Southland. The issues which we face are not simple, nor can they be resolved overnight. Because the questions which confront us are in so many respects moral and spiritual as well as political, it is appropriate and necessary that men who occupy places of responsibility in the churches should not be silent concerning their convictions.

The signers of this statement are all ministers of the Gospel, but we speak also as citizens of Georgia and of the United States of America. We are all Southerners, either by birth or by choice, and speak as men who love the South, who seek to understand its problems, and who are vitally concerned for its welfare. In preparing this statement we have acted as individuals, and represent no one but ourselves. At the same time we believe that the sentiments which we express are shared by a multitude of our fellow-citizens, who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems, but who have been without a voice and have found no way to make their influence effective.

In presenting our views for the consideration of others we can only speak in a spirit of deep humility and of penitence for our own failures. We cannot claim that the problem of racial relationships has been solved even in the churches which we serve, and we are conscious that our own example in the matter of brotherhood and neighborliness has been all too imperfect. We do not pretend to know all the answers. We *are* of one mind, however,

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in believing that Christian people have an especial responsibility for the solution of our racial problems and that if, as Christians, we sincerely seek to understand and apply the teachings of our Lord and Master we shall assuredly find the answer.

We do not believe that the South is more to blame for the difficulties which we face than are other areas of our nation. The presence of the Negro in America is the result of the infamous slave traffic — an evil for which the North was as much responsible, as the South. We are also conscious that racial injustice and violence are not confined to our section and that racial problems have by no means been solved anywhere in our nation. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right. The failures of others are not a justification for our own shortcomings, nor can their unjust criticisms excuse us for a failure to do our duty in the sight of God. Our one concern must be to know and to do that which is right.

We believe that the difficulties before us have been greatly increased by extreme attitudes and statements on both sides. The use of the word "Integration" in connection with our schools and other areas of life has been unfortunate, since to many that term has become synonymous with amalgamation. We do not believe in the amalagamation of the races, nor do we feel that it is favored by right thinking members of either race. We do believe that all Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first class citizenship. To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the White race as upon the Negro race. Believing as we do in the desirability of preserving the integrity of both races through the free choice of both, we would emphasize the following principles which we hold to be of basic importance for our thought and conduct:

1. FREEDOM OF SPEECH MUST AT ALL COSTS BE PRESERVED. "Truth is mighty and will prevail." No minister, editor, teacher, state employee, business man or other citizen should be penalized for expressing himself freely, so long as he does so with due regard to the rights of others. Any position which cannot stand upon its own merits and which can only be maintained by silencing all who hold contrary convictions, is a position which can not permanently endure.
2. AS AMERICANS AND AS CHRISTIANS WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OBEY THE LAW. This does not mean that all loyal citizens need approve the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court with reference to segregation in the public schools. Those who feel that this decision was in error have every right to work for an alteration in the decree, either through a further change in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, or through

an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It does mean that we have no right to defy the constituted authority in the government of our nation. Assuredly also it means that resorts to violence and to economic reprisals as a means to avoid the granting of legal rights to other citizens are never justified.

3. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM MUST NOT BE DESTROYED. It is an institution essential to the preservation and development of our democracy. To sacrifice that system in order to avoid obedience to the decree of the Supreme Court would be to inflict tremendous loss upon multitudes of children, whose whole lives would be impoverished as a result of such action. It would also mean the economic, intellectual and cultural impoverishment of our section, and would be a blow to the welfare of our nation as a whole.
4. HATRED AND SCORN FOR THOSE OF ANOTHER RACE, OR FOR THOSE WHO HOLD A POSITION DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN, CAN NEVER BE JUSTIFIED. It is only as we approach our problems in a spirit of mutual respect, of charity, and of good will that we can hope to understand one another, and to find the way to a cooperative solution of our problems. God is no respecter of persons, every human personality is precious in His sight. No policy which seeks to keep any man from developing fully every capacity of body, mind, and of spirit can be justified in the light of Scripture. This is the message of the Hebrew prophets as it is of Christ and His disciples. We shall solve our difficulties when we learn to walk in obedience to the Golden Rule: "Therefore, all things, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."
5. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE RACES MUST BE MAINTAINED. One of the tragedies of our present situation is found in the fact that there is so little real discussion of the issues except within the separate racial groups. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that misunderstandings will continue and that suspicion and distrust will be encouraged. One of the reasons that extreme measures have been so often proposed or adopted by groups within both races is found in the fact that those who are most concerned have seldom faced the issues in a situation where there could be a free exchange of ideas. We believe that a willingness on the part of white leaders to talk with the leaders of the Negro race, and to understand what those leaders are really seeking for their people is necessary and desirable. An expressed willingness on our part to recognize their needs, and to see that they are granted their full rights as American citizens, might well lead to a cooperative approach to the problem which would provide equal rights and yet maintain the integrity of both races upon a basis of mutual esteem and of free choice rather than of force.

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6. OUR DIFFICULTIES CANNOT BE SOLVED IN OUR OWN STRENGTH OR IN HUMAN WISDOM. It is appropriate, therefore, that we approach our task in a spirit of humility, of penitence, and of prayer. It is necessary that we pray earnestly and consistently that God will give us wisdom to understand His will; that He will grant us the courage and faith to follow the guidance of His Spirit.

To such prayer and obedience we would dedicate ourselves and summon all men of good will.

Wallace M. Alston, Charles L. Allen, Thomas Anderson, Raymond J. Ball, Wade H. Boggs, Jack Bozeman, Lee Branham, W. C. Budd, A. L. Burgreen, Robert W. Burns, C. W. Carpenter, Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr., Lamar Clements, Samuel T. Cobb, E. Dudley Colhoun, Vance Daniel, Eugene Drinkard, Edward Driscoll, L. B. Ellington, D. J. Evans, Harry Fifield, Emmett Floyd, Austin Ford, J. T. Ford, Thomas A. Fry, Jr., John Garber, Arthur Vann Gibson, Victor A. Greene, Joseph L. Griggs, Thomas Hagood, Alfred Hardman, Dick H. Hall, Jr., Claud M. Haynes, W. I. Howell, Herbert Hyde, Bevil Jones, Dow Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Kribbs, Edward Lantz, Robert E. Lee, Fitzhugh M. Legerton, John Blix Lind, Nat G. Long, James D. Matthews, Roy O. McClain, Harrison McMains, W. Robert Mill, Harold W. Minor, Jr., Harry L. Mitcham, Walter Murphy, William E. Newton, Stuart Oglesby, Robert Ozment, Roy Pettway, J. Davison Philips, Paul Renz, J. McDowell Richards, Frank M. Ross, E. D. Rudisill, Lester Rumble, Hugh Saussy, Jr., Charles F. Schwab, O. Norman Shands, Rembert Sisson, W. Thomas Smith, Wilson Sneed, R. H. Stewart, Monroe F. Swilley, Jr., James W. Sosebee, W. Earl Strickland, Harry Tisdale, Herman L. Turner, L. F. VanLandingham, Wendell Wellman, Albert Wells, Charles L. Widney, Allison Williams, Eugene T. Wilson, John Womack, Milton L. Wood.

"....The issue is that every Southern Governor has stated publicly that racial tension in the South is not hurting the current drive for new industry. This of course is begging the question. When you have to assure yourself that a condition is not doing HARM, it is the beginning of a downward spiral. The more pertinent question would be; 'Is the present resistance to the Supreme Court decision HELPING us get new industry?' Try to ask that question of yourself and double your money back if you do not laugh out loud."—Harry Golden, Editor, *Carolina Israelite.*

Integration and Public Morals*

By Marion A. Wright

Retiring President

of

Southern Regional Council

I am sure you will appreciate my dilemma. For a week now I have been thinking about what might properly be said to Charlotte people concerning the integration of their schools. I read all the papers. I listened to all the broadcasts. There have been times within the past week when I felt great pride in what was happening here. That came one night as I heard a Voice of America broadcast to Asia. The Voice contrasted Charlotte with Little Rock, explaining that the real sentiment of this country was expressed here. There have been times when I felt shame, as I know you have. What may the Voice of America now say to Asians? How may it gloss over the dark truth?

Well, as the young people would put it, tonight we are all crazy, mixed-up kids. We may feel slight pride—though I am not sure why—but a sense of shame overwhelms us. We may as well be honest. North Carolina has failed Dorothy Counts as Alabama failed Autherine Lucy. They are both casualties of men's blind and unreasoning prejudices. Those prejudices have taken root and flourished because we who don't share them have failed. We did not fail this week or last week. We failed years ago, in our homes, our schools, our churches, in our contacts with people on the street, in all that we said and did — in not removing the scales from men's eyes, in not living up to our proud pretensions about equality before the law.

It would be highly presumptuous of me to attempt a post mortem. That would seem to be the first order of business for this city. In my ignorance of local conditions I may only add to confusion. Of one thing, however, we may be sure. Integration will not fail. The small and precarious bridgehead it holds in this city at the moment will be

**Speech presented at Charlotte, N. C.*

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expanded. The question is whether or not Charlotte has irretrievably sacrificed its leadership among the cities of the South.

With the hot news of the hour beating in upon us, it seems almost academic to deal in generalities, to discuss principles rather than people and events. But we must realize that people come and go. New actors mount the stage. Events are transitory. Tomorrow and the next day there will be new headlines. People and events have significance only because they are involved with principles. Principles abide. So let us discuss them.

One of the cliches we hear most often is that the world is growing smaller. What we really mean is that the community is growing larger—not that the world is narrowing and contracting but that the community is expanding in significance and importance to the point that whatever it says and does—or even thinks—has impact and repercussion throughout the world. A boy named Emmett Till is foully murdered in Mississippi. The shot that blew out his brains is heard round the world. The city of Louisville, with dignity, firmness and rare statesmanship, integrates its schools. That incident too, makes headlines in Bombay and Cairo and Shanghai. No longer in public affairs is anything done in a dark corner; no longer is action undetected or its full significance unappreciated.

So, the eyes of the world are upon Charlotte.

It is well that a forum be provided for presentation of the affirmative side of the integration issue. The negative lacks neither facilities nor spokesmen. Has it not occurred to you as being somewhat unfortunate that discussion of an issue which is of deep concern to parents, teachers and sociologists and which has such pronounced moral and ethical overtones should have been left almost exclusively to the politicians? That the forum should have been, not the school, the Parent-Teacher Association or the church, but the hustings?

Reasons

Now, there are two reasons why it would seem that the politicians should have no monopoly of discussion of this issue.

In the first place, they have a vested interest in the issue. For as long as any of us here can remember there have been in the South a substantial number of them—few in North Carolina—who have risen to power and retained it by exploiting the race question. In an earlier time when they were bolder and more forthright their shibboleth was white supremacy. More recently they have gone respectable. They no longer use the term. Instead they preach a paternalistic and trusteeship doctrine which must be fully as offensive to our Negro citizens as the ancient militance. They assume to play God to the Negro—tell him in effect, "we are your best friends and we will give you what is good for you." The basic assumption of the paternalistic school is still the innate superiority of the white man.

Such men, happily decreasing in number and influence under the impact of events, have, as I have said, a vested interest in keeping the segregation issue alive. Deprive them of it and their mental bankruptcy would be exposed. We exclude men who have an interest in a lawsuit from serving upon juries because their judgment may not be trusted where their interests are involved. The application to the political school under consideration is too obvious to require expression.

There is another reason why the opinions of political leaders have no peculiar sanctity. It is a field beyond their special competence. If the question involved were entirely political in nature, one might concede the expert qualifications of such leaders. But we are here dealing with a profoundly moral issue. There are involved our sense of fair play, the right of every child to be taught as and where other children are taught, the degree to which we live up to our expressed beliefs in the equality of men before the law, the obligation of men to discharge the citizen's first duty of observing the law.

Ruses

With due deference, I see nothing in the careers of such men to give them authority superior to our own in the field of morals.What is it that they recommend?

They recommend that we *appear* to be following the mandate of the Supreme Court without actually doing so. They recommend stratagems, ruses, wiles, which everyone knows to be dishonest. They pretend to de-centralize the schools, so that there is no apparent state control, necessitating a separate suit against each district rather than one against the state, while setting up Advisory Boards which issue confidential suggestions to school boards that they not comply with law.

In the bright lexicon of genuine statesmanship there is no such word as evasion. In the bright lexicon of honor there is no such word as misrepresentation. Of course, public ethics and morals lag behind individual ethics and morals.

Church

Now, I am usually on the receiving end of admonitions given in church. These verbal chastisements have done me no harm, and—who knows?—may have done me good, even if the results are not apparent. I am sure you will not begrudge me this rare opportunity to strike back. With a feeling almost of awe at my presumption, I venture a few timid words on one duty of a church.

One problem of our times is to close this gap between private and public morals. Certainly, there should be no lowering of individual standards — they are low enough already. But is there any doubt that our public standards may stand a little elevation? I do not want any fuzziness to tincture what I say. I am speaking definitely about the integration of our schools.

More than three years have elapsed since a court, composed of white men, chosen by white men, construing a constitution written by white men, held that segregation in our public schools was unlawful. While in many areas of

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(Continued)

the South there has been ungrudging compliance with that decision, the course followed elsewhere is not a cause for pride. In the face of an issue and at a time when men should think deeply, speak frankly, act honorably, to what have we been subjected?

There have been two facets to our public policy. One is puerile attacks upon members of the Court and the NAACP, as though the dilemma which now confronts us might never have arisen but for some unholy conspiracy between the two. This blindly overlooks the fact that what has happened in the South is merely part of a world movement for full and complete emancipation of colored peoples. If our leaders feel that they may beat back this upsurge of democratic spirit, I suggest they get brooms, go to Wilmington and try sweeping back the tide. No one of us is going to be dragged, even kicking and screaming, back into the 18th century.

Other Facet

The other facet consists of the evasion and subterfuge I have mentioned. It would be an exercise in morbidity to catalog these accomplished and proposed maneuvers. Suffice it to say that the objective of all of them is to abet and encourage the citizen to fail in his first duty—observe the law.

My thesis is that presentation of these schemes to the public presents also a moral issue to the church. The church, by silence and inaction, by remaining supine, may condone, if not approve, such policy. If religion is actually to be a force in the lives of men, it cannot retreat when confronted by a moral crisis. To do so is to abdicate its authority in the field of ethics. When, later, it seeks to set up standards of conduct in other fields, it may be reminded of its failure in this particular area. More, it will be haunted and its effectiveness blunted by its own consciousness of failure.

Martyrs

Let me be quick to say that already this crisis has produced its own ecclesiastical martyrs. They have not met death or imprisonment. We are a little too subtle and refined for that. But ministers have been assaulted. Others have had their homes and churches bombed. Still others have been relieved of their pastorates. These men are the heroes of this age. Long after some of our public figures have been forgotten, the South, white and Negro, will still pay tribute to Rev. Martin Luther King.

Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence such as this. They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condem. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law—that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall ob-

serve? They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence. There may be more than a thread of connection between what governors and senators say and what men in Mississippi did to Emmett Till.

Certain governors, following the Supreme Court decisions, announce that a segregated school system must be preserved. They employ all of their cunning to develop methods—private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded for what they are—transparent frauds.

Violence

When cunning and what passes for intelligence have failed, what is an *untutored* citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has bombs. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the governor who weeps at violence!

Charlotte and North Carolina have been saved the orgies of violence which have gripped Little Rock and Nashville and other cities only because the citizens here have sufficient intelligence and force of character and loyalty to the Constitution to resist the appeals of demagogues.

I am sure, too, that these politicians could not have foreseen that their advocacy should have led to a state of public mind which would in certain parts of the South result in substantial curtailment of the right of free speech and opinion. Certainly from this blight, North Carolina is far more free than most Southern states. But let us indulge in no vainglory. It can happen here—and will, unless we are vigilant. Teacher's oaths, requirement that they list their organizations, the proscribing of the NAACP, boycott of advocates of law observance, withdrawal of advertising from certain newspapers—all these present an imminent peril. They flow directly from the germinal idea of evading the law of the land.

There is no more alarming phenomenon of this age than this mass effort to control what men shall publicly say or print. Opinion is the life blood of democracy. Upon its free expression democracy thrives and grows. You will not have sound opinion unless men may freely express and exchange views—test them in the market place. Thought itself is actually inhibited where it cannot be freely expressed. For, where all *seem* to be thinking alike no one is *actually* thinking at all.

So, we observe elsewhere the already achieved results of the official policy of evading the law—results which I am sure were not in contemplation of those who fashioned the policy. Legal chicanery and subterfuge have sired economic boycott, suppression of thought, and raw violence.

I ask you, as reasonable men and

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(Continued)

women, if other results are not in prospect unless the policy is reversed. Thus far, the legal subterfuges relate only to integration of our schools; boycott, suppression of thought aid violence are directed only against advocates of compliance with school law. Will they stop there? If the rights of one minority group may be thus assailed, what about the rights of others? The Jews, the Catholics, the labor unions—any group that doesn't have the power of government in its hands? The rights of none of us are safe unless the rights of all are safe.

Present Policy

I have been at some pains to point out where we have drifted under our present policy and whither we tend. Always the point must be conceded that, in comparison with certain other states, North Carolina has high standards of respectability. The hysteria and violence found elsewhere have *so far* not gripped this commonwealth.

Now, in recent weeks one event has occurred in North Carolina which demonstrates, in a small way, at least, the growing resolution of our people to act honorably and decently. I refer, of course, to the action of school boards of Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem. I am quite frank in saying that the action was of a more limited nature than some might have thought possible. But what one of us can say what he would have done if he had been a member of the board? Certainly, the pressure upon the boards to continue to drift must have been considerable. Certainly, moral courage was required to resist that pressure. And that is a quality sufficiently rare to deserve the commendation and gratitude of all good citizens. It has been heartening to those of us out in the provinces of North Carolina to observe that, almost without exception, from all responsible quarters, commendation and gratitude have been expressed. Here, at least, the strident accents of the John Kaspers have fallen upon deaf ears.

Practically all of us have come to agree, I think, that the shabbiest and sorriest figure of our times is the man who would drive lines of cleavage among men. We need not walls to separate men from each other but bridges to connect, not sundering but unifying influences. The greatest public servant of our day is the one who breaks down artificial barriers with which men have sought to create the illusion of their superiority to other men.

No one of us may be a Ghandi or a Schweitzer. We lack their mental and spiritual endowments. But everyone of us, to the limits of such endowments as he has, may, on this continent, in North Carolina—yes, in Charlotte—, partake of the spirit of these men, spend his life to the same noble purposes.

What may we do? It is easy enough to entertain great sentiments. Translating those sentiments into wise deeds presents our practical problem. Answers will suggest themselves to each individual. I propose only the more obvious.

The first goes to our states of mind. We should constantly remind ourselves

that the Negro parent is knocking on our school doors only because he wants his child to have the best this city offers for the education of his children. I think we should greatly resent having someone else tell us we don't know what is good for our children. We should reject the easy hypothesis that the Negro child is better off in his own school. The courts say that is not true. Every student of human behavior says it is not true.

The one lay organization concerned with our schools is the Parent-Teacher Association. There should be no segregation in such groups. If revision of by-laws is necessary to accomplish integration, they should be revised. At any rate, simple democracy requires that the voices of all of us should be equally heard, the influence of all of us be equally felt, in improving the standards of education.

The same reasons require that there should be Negro representation on boards of trustees and all other official bodies concerned with our schools. This should be no mere token or nominal representation. Thc appointees should be able and vigorous exponents of the Negro point-of-view. The comfortable assumptions—hangover from slavery days—that we know what is best for the Negro and are qualified to act as trustees for him must be tossed out the window. All of our history has demonstrated their falsity.

We must bear in mind that the Negro children who attend, or will attend, white schools are exercising rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Everyone deserves protection in the exercise of his rights. We should inform our police officials that they have our full support in guarding the persons and property of Negro children and parents involved, and that they will be held accountable for failure to do so.

Law Enforement

Parenthetically, let me concede that you are in much better position than I to appraise the conduct of your law enforcement officers. But from my remote observation post, the impression was acquired that they reflected great credit on your city. Promptness and firmness upon the part of police offcers are cardinal factors in the school situation.

We should realize, too, that the one or two Negro children in white schools are under emotional stress. They are in a strange environment with few, if any, friends enduring the same ordeal. They experience the loneliness of all pioneers. White parents may mitigate the rigors of the experiment, reduce its bruises and abrasions, by counselling their children to show courtesy to, and deal generously with, the brave child of another color.

The white mother, feeling that she makes some sacrifice, undergoes some disagreeable experience, in sending her child to a school attended also by a Negro child, should reflect for a moment upon the anguish of the Negro mother. Sometimes she walks through hostile groups to reach the steps of the school —at actual risk of physical violence. Always she hands over her child to a white faculty and into an association bewilderingly unfamiliar, if not resentful and challenging. Only the profound-

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est maternal instincts and limitless ambition for her child sustain her in that hour.

Out of the welter of last week's events we caught for a moment the image of a white woman taking a small Negro girl by the hand and leading her to a taxi, telling the angry crowd all that was important to a mother "she's just a little girl."

One knew in that instant that integration will not fail. The bravery and courage and noble ambition of Negro mothers and their children are matched by the tenderness and compassion of white mothers. They are matched also by the nobility of the white girls who took the new girl by the hand and gave her welcome. Such are the permanent, the irresistible, forces.

The churches play a crucial role. Their own racial barriers must be lowered if they are to assume leadership in this new adventure in brotherhood. The pious resolution, adopted at some convention, while excellent as a proclamation of principle, is not enough. The doors of the church should be swung wide, not merely cracked an inch. It should not be necessary for a Negro minister to go from Charlotte to Quebec in order to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to white people.

Finally, none of us should approach this great social experience negatively, in the frame of mind that this is the law and we shall make the best of a bad bargain. It is the law and a good bargain to boot. In the discussion the emphasis has been placed upon the injuries inflicted upon the Negro by our segregation system. They are considerable and grievous. But the whites have suffered too.

If segregation, as the court has said, has engendered feelings of inferiority in the Negro, it has also engendered feelings of superiority in the white man. These feelings of superiority, resting upon no solid base, tend to make us arrogant and proud. We suffer from delusions of grandeur. Arrogance and pride are not virtues. Indeed, we are not told that the arrogant shall inherit the earth. We are not told that humility goeth before destruction.

Moreover, as a society we have not permitted the Negro to pull his share of the load. We have assigned him to menial tasks and resolutely barred his advancement. Hence, the more skilled, the more intelligent, the ablest, migrate. This waste of Negro potential places extra burdens upon the whites. If there is actually "a white man's burden," it is a burden of his own creation.

All of us in North Carolina have come to take great pride in Charlotte. We take your papers. We listen to your radio. We look at your TV. The commercial, industrial and financial primacy of your city is assured. No one minimizes the importance of such achievement. Thus, the achievements of a certain rich young ruler were beyond cavil.

Success in the great experiment here and now undertaken would be the brightest jewel in your crown. Less resolute communities would be heartened by your example. So you may lead this great state into the way of full and complete democracy.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?"

Woodrow Wilson

• • •

"If everyone would take a good look at the pictures of Lew (Burdette, white pitcher for Milwaukee Braves) and Wes (Covington, Negro leftfielder for Milwaukee) with their arms around each other, they would forget all the integration trouble."

Mrs. S. L. Burdette
of Nitro, West Virginia,
as quoted by the United Press

• • •

"In the main, law and equity stand in the forefront of the moral forces which our two countries (England and the United States) have in common, and rank with our common language in that store of bonds of unity on which I firmly believe our life and destiny depend. It has been pointed out that the 5th and 14th amendments of the American Constitution are an echo of the Magna Carta."

Winston Churchill
as quoted by the Associated Press

• • •

"We must rededicate ourselves to the fact that freedom is not real unless it is universal, and that those who defend liberty and justice anywhere defend it everywhere."

E. Smythe Gambrell
Atlanta Lawyer
quoted in the ATLANTA JOURNAL

"Your (Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida) leadership (in race relations) is helping provide a type of industrial climate which will assure continued economic progress and opportunity for the people of your state."

C. O. Wanvig
President, Globe-Union, Inc.
on occasion of announcing the
erection of million dollar
plan in Tampa

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"I am one of those who believe that the Atlanta method (in race relations) . . . is the one which is going to have the greatest success in evolving the new Southern way of life, which in many respects may not be so different from the old one but in all events will have removed from it the stigma of legal inferiority."

Robert L. Sommerville
President, Atlanta Transit System
as quoted in THE REPORTER

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"The course of justice in Little Rock is strange indeed. While the white supremacist hoodlums who disgraced America so many weeks ago proceed about their business, Little Rock police are arresting the NAACP leaders who led the resistance against the racists."

Editorial Excerpt
From the
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